

JOHN STANISLAW KUBARY—NATURALIST AND ETHNOGRAPHER OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

by LECH PASZKOWSKI

(Plates VI-VII)

It is perhaps a touch of irony that John Stanislaw Kubary, who was so proud of Australian naturalization, seems to have been completely neglected in the literature of this country. Even the landmark named after him in New Guinea became mis-spelt on Australian maps. Another striking point is that he is known to the world as an ethnographer, while in his naturalization papers he described himself as a 'naturalist'.

As this paper was written especially for the Royal Zoological Society of New South Wales I have tried, perhaps for the first time in the existing literature, to place some stress on Kubary's achievements in the field of natural history. For the same reason I have limited the quantity of the available ethnographic material. However it has been impossible to separate Kubary the naturalist from Kubary the ethnographer. It has been impossible to give the picture of Kubary the naturalist without the general background of his whole life.

In His Native Warsaw

He was born on 13th November, 1846, in Warsaw, Poland. His father, Stanislaw, was butler to an Italian opera producer, Jan Quatrini, who was well known in Warsaw. John's mother, Telka (née Schur), was a native of Berlin, but she had lived in Warsaw since childhood. Her husband died when John was six and later she married a Pole named Tomasz Marcinkiewicz, who was a bootmaker by trade. Marcinkiewicz owned a small footwear factory in Warsaw. So, John Kubary was actually brought up by his stepfather, who was also active in Polish politics.

Dance Among Swords

In January, 1863, when Kubary was a student in the sixth form of high school the uprising against Russian domination started in Poland. As a member of a patriotic organization he joined the insurgents. The rallying point for his unit was in a forest near the frontier of East Prussia. The group consisted of forty men, but their fighting equipment was completely inadequate and consisted of only two rifles, one double-barrelled, and twenty converted scythes. The rest of the volunteers were provided with wooden staves. Such a situation demoralized the sixteen years old boy, and, as he wrote to his mother: ". . . realizing that to wage a war in this manner invites only a beating, I proposed to my colleagues, Kapica and Jasiński, to run away with me to Prussia. As they did not wish to do so, I secretly left the camp on 4th February, 1863, and managed to escape across the border".

He stayed in Berlin with his uncle until the end of March, 1863. Later he returned to his high school in Warsaw, where he also met his two previously mentioned colleagues. But the patriotic spirit and pressure of public feeling in Warsaw created such an atmosphere that Kubary decided, for the second time, to leave his native city. As he was rather short-sighted he asked for an assignment in the civil organization of the insurrection. At the end of May, 1863, he was assigned to the Chief Administrator of the Cracow Province,

then a part of the Austrian Empire. Kubary was entrusted with important tasks, for example, to make an inquiry into the confiscation of imported arms, destined for the insurgents and seized by the Austrian authorities. Subsequently, he was attached to the Commissioner for the National Government (underground) at Cracow, where he received an order to collect taxes. Being unable to carry out such a difficult task he submitted his resignation and was eventually dismissed.

In April, 1864, Kubary went to Dresden in Germany. There, according to the Polish historian, Janusz Iwaszkiewicz, he broke down morally, went to the Russian Consulate and made a statement concerning the role he himself had played in the insurrection. He promised to serve the Russian Government faithfully, asking for nothing more than the right to return home. Kubary returned to Warsaw in June, 1864, provided with Russian documents, but he was immediately arrested by the Commission of Inquiry. He again made a statement revealing the entire organization of the insurgents acting in the District of Cracow. After that he was released and entered the Faculty of Medicine as a student. His freedom did not last long, as he was summoned to the Chief of Russian Police in Warsaw; he was ordered to proceed to Paris in order to watch the activities of the Polish political refugees. Kubary was supposed to go to France and there persuade one of his associates from his high school, named Alexander Zwierzchowski, to fulfil the impious role of an agent provocateur.

This period of Kubary's life can be described as a macabre dance among swords. When Zwierzchowski succeeded in bringing back several prominent emigrants from France and led them into the trap of the Russian police, Kubary decided to counter his plans and warned the insurgent authorities, at the same time disclosing his own unsavoury part. As a result of this, he was arrested by the Russians and after three months in prison was singled out for deportation to the interior of Russia. Thanks to the intervention of his mother, through her family in Germany, and renewed promises of faithful service to the Russian Government, Kubary was released. Again he returned to his beloved medical studies, but he had to repay with the denunciations of his colleagues.

The Turning Point

About this time there came a turning point in the life of the young man. Kubary braced himself to take a mature decision: he made up his mind to leave his native city, his beloved mother and sister, his dreams of university study, and to start a new life.

In March, 1868, he escaped from Warsaw without bidding his family farewell. He left only a despairing letter for his mother, in which he wrote: ". . . here you would sooner see my death than a good solution . . . for the love I bear you I coerced myself to remain, I smiled in spite of great suffering . . . all my life here, since 1863, has been only one of sorrow".

He reached Berlin on foot but this time his uncle refused any help, so Kubary was compelled to earn his living. He became an apprentice in a stucco works in Berlin and later in Altona. For a short while he stayed with a London stonecutter, Lambert, but soon returned to Hamburg. While living in this city Kubary visited the Godeffroy Museum dedicated to the natural history and ethnography of the South Seas. In March, 1869, the curators of the Museum, Dr. J. D. E. Schmeltz and Dr. R. Krause, introduced him to Johann Caesar Godeffroy, the founder of this establishment and owner of the famous trading company bearing his name. Godeffroy was impressed by the intelligence and linguistic abilities of the young man and offered him a contract for a period of five years as a collector on behalf of his Museum.

Samoa—The Land of Dreams

Kubary sailed from Hamburg on 1st May, 1869, aboard the *Wandralm*, and after 130 days at sea arrived in Apia, Samoa, on 8th September. He stayed there for a short time, living at the Godeffroy Station, where Dr. Eduard Graeffe gave him some basic instruction in his calling. Later Kubary lived at Fangamalo, in Matautu Harbour, Savaii, with Mr. Pratt, a missionary, but soon established his own household with a Samoan housekeeper named Nosi.

The young man was enchanted with the islands: "At first Samoa appeared to me as the land of dreams"—he wrote to a Warsaw weekly, but after some time he became very critical of the Europeans, particularly of the missionaries and their attempts "to civilize" the Samoans.

Kubary lived at Samoa for about six months. During this period he interested himself in ornithology. He learned the Samoan language rapidly and started an ethnological study of the natives. These three pursuits, namely natural history, languages and ethnography became lifelong associations. He sent a collection of creatures from Samoan waters, e.g. a sea-cucumber *Holothuria pertinax* Ludwig to the Godeffroy Museum.

He also made a voyage to Fiji and Tonga, but we have little information concerning this excursion, apart from the fact that it lasted for about two months. However, it seems that Kubary made an anthropological collection of skulls at Viti Levu and acquired some knowledge of the Tongan language.

The First Discovery—*Pareudiastes pacificus*

One of his first discoveries at Savaii was an unknown type of wood rail or gallinule, named *Pareudiastes pacificus*, described by Dr. G. Hartlaub and Dr. O. Finsh in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 1871, pp. 21-26, in an article "On a Collection of Birds from Savaii and Rarotonga Islands in the Pacific". A fine plate was attached to the latter paper with a coloured picture of the *Pareudiastes pacificus*. Kubary collected a number of birds on Savaii, including the rare species *Lobiospiza notabilis*, and from Upolu the remarkable *Didunculus strigirostris*. James C. Greenway Jnr. (*Extinct and Vanishing Birds of the World*, 1958) thinks that the *Pareudiastes pacificus* may now be extinct, but the opinions of ornithologists are divided in this matter. W. von Bülow (*Int. Arch. Ethn.*, vol. XIII, p. 189) noted that the *Pareudiastes pacificus* discovered by Kubary was occasionally found on the natives' menu list, thus this fact probably contributed to the scarcity of the bird.

Exploration of the Ebon Group in the Marshall Archipelago

In April, 1870, Kubary sailed on board the *Sofia* for the Marshall Islands, also visiting Elllice and Gilbert Islands en route. After twenty days he arrived in the Ebon Group where he stayed for about five months.

There Kubary observed the rich and unusual peculiarities of the local marine life. He collected about 160 different shells, obtaining for the first time from this area, species similar to the marine life of the Indian Ocean, e.g. *Potamides obtusum* Lam., *Conus tessellatus* Born, and *Cypraea variolaria* L. He was also the first to collect samples of a deep-water coral, *Pavonia papyracea* Dana, from the Pacific Ocean. Kubary made a map of the Ebon Group, a ring-like chain of twenty-one coral islands.

Incidentally, his apprenticeship with the stucco workers proved to be of great value to anthropology as, while on the Ebon Group, and also in Samoa, Kubary started to take life masks of the natives cast in plaster of Paris. This collection later grew to hundreds of masks of the natives of the South Sea Islands.

He also devoted his efforts to the ethnological study of the natives and compiled a vocabulary and grammar of the Ebon Islands dialect. The results of his explorations were published in the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*, No. 1, (Hamburg) 1873, under the heading "Die Ebongruppe im Marshalls Archipel", supplemented by his map, and two illustrations made from Kubary's photographs. In the same issue there were also three illustrations from his photographs taken in Samoa.

In the introduction to that article Dr. E. Graeffe said that Kubary's work was the most important contribution to the knowledge of the Ebon Islands since the Russian expedition of Captain Otto von Kotzebue and the exploration of his German naturalist Adelbert von Chamisso in 1817.

Dr. J. Schmeltz pointed out in the *International Archiv für Ethnographie*, vol. X (Leiden), 1897, pp. 133-34, that Kubary's valuable vocabulary attached to the latter article was published six years before Hershheim's *Beitrag zur Sprache der Marshall-Inseln*, which was hailed by many as an epoch making event, although it actually brought nothing new after Kubary's work.

On the Islands of Yap

In the middle of August, 1870, Kubary sailed on board the brig *Susanna*, arriving after eighteen days at the Islands of Yap and by 2nd September he was already collecting birds there and devoting himself to observations of the fauna.

In the article "On a fourth Collection of Birds from the Pelew and Mackenzie Islands" (*Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond.*, 1872, p. 87) by Hartlaub and Finsch we read: "This collection was formed by Mr. Kubary on the island of Uap (sic), of the Mackenzie group, and by Capts. Heinsohn and Peters, masters of vessels belonging to Mr. Godeffroy . . . Thanks to the zeal and diligence of these gentlemen, we are now in the pleasing situation of being able to give a far more complete account of the ornithology of these interesting islands. Not only do we become better acquainted with some little-known species, but the total number of species has been increased."

In the *Catalog V*, Museum Godeffroy, 1874, p. XXI, Schmeltz stated, referring to the aforementioned article, that Kubary collected twenty-two species of birds on Yap, among them, four new ones were described, while Dr. Otto Finsch in his work "Zur Ornithologie der Südsee-Inseln: Die Vogel der Palau-Gruppe" (*Journal Mus. Godeffroy*, No. 8, 1875, p. 3) wrote that on this island Kubary collected twenty species, among them five new ones. The latter probably included *Falco peregrinus* L., which was captured by Kubary during the north-east monsoon in November, 1870; *Ardea sinensis* Gml., captured on Yap at the beginning of October, 1870, and *Actitis incanus* Gml. However, these birds were already described and known in other parts of the world, so that actually, they were "new" only in the sense of the ornithology of this region and as new numbers on the checklist.

On Yap, Kubary also interested himself in entomology and, according to Schmeltz (l.c.), collected a number of butterflies and a new beetle. In No. 2 of the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*, 1873, there was a large plate with twenty beautifully coloured drawings of caterpillars and chrysalises from Yap Island, fourteen of the drawings being done by Kubary himself. Georg Semper in his article "Auf der Insel Yap gesammelte Schmetterlinge" (*J.M.G.*, No. 2) listed twelve species of butterflies collected by Kubary on Yap between September and December, 1870.

Not many fishes were observed there by Kubary and he provided a list of only thirty-one species. But he sent many interesting specimens of crustaceans, shells, molluscs and corals to Hamburg.

Regarding Kubary's ethnographical work on these islands, Dr. Wilhelm Müller, the author of a monumental monograph, *Yap* (Hamburg, 1917), said that "although he was not scientifically prepared, this man did more

for the exploration of Micronesia than anybody before him and after him until the arrival of the Hamburgian South Sea Expedition" (p. 4).

As a result of his stay on Yap a paper was published in the *Journ. Mus. Godeffroy*, No. 2, 1873, pp. 84-130, under the heading "Die Carolinen-Inseln Yap oder Guap", written jointly by Alf. Tetens and J. Kubary. In this paper Kubary described, among other things, a strange monetary system, which was in use on these islands; the money was in the shape of huge discs of coral stone, similar to millstones, with a diameter ranging from a yard to three and half yards.

Apparently he left the island of Yap in January, 1871.

The Islands of Palau

On 1st February, 1871, Kubary arrived in the Palau Group and took up residence in a splendid community house, given to him by a local chief of the Koror, one of the smaller islands. Eighteen days later Kubary organized an expedition in three boats and in the company of fifteen armed warriors sailed along the west shores of Babelthuap, the largest island of the archipelago.

At the end of March he again set out for the smaller islands of the Group in his own boat and with a hired crew. However, on the return trip he was caught by a storm and forced to throw overboard a valuable collection of objects of natural history and ethnography. Relations with the local chieftains were sometimes strained, but in general Kubary knew how to handle the natives and override distrust. Some of the chiefs favoured the young explorer and showed him genuine friendliness. Consequently, he was compelled to play the skilful role of diplomat in order to gain good opportunities and, at the same time, not to antagonize others during his visits to the numerous islands of the Group.

In spite of the interesting voyages among the exotic islands his spirit was not at ease, as one can see from a letter written to his mother, dated 20th April, 1871: "On 1st April, thank God, two years of my contract have elapsed! I say thank God . . . and I am also adding a request that the remaining time will pass as quickly, or, what would be still better, that he will release me as soon as possible. Here I am losing five of the best years of my life, am aging quickly, and for that this wealthy gentleman pays me disgracefully. On several occasions here I have had several offers of quite different employment, but I have not wanted to accept, deceiving myself into believing that in the next letter from Herr Godeffroy I shall get a considerable improvement in my situation".

In January, 1872, the Palau islanders faced the scourge of influenza, which took a heavy toll of the population and did not spare the chieftains. Kubary, as a former student of medicine, successfully fought the epidemic, which brought him great esteem and the absolute confidence of the natives throughout the whole of the Palau Islands. He was told many secrets and admitted to many rites, all of which enabled him to study their customs freely, as no one before him had been able to do. His stay at the Palaus is described with much detail by Florence M. Spoehr in her book *White Falcon: The House of Godeffroy and its Commercial and Scientific Role in the Pacific* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1963, pp. 69-98).

His Contribution to Knowledge of the Palaus

Schmeltz and Krämer stated that the zoology of the Palau Islands became known thanks to Semper and Kubary. Beside the previously mentioned twenty species of birds collected on Yap, Kubary acquired another twenty-seven in the Palaus. The total number of birds from the Palaus reached 57 in the check list of 1880.

He found about 180 species of fish in the waters around the Palau Islands and collected at least three freshwater species in Lake Ngardok for the Godeffroy Museum. It seems that the work done by Kubary helped Albert Günther with his monograph "Andrew Garrett's Fische der Südsee", published in the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*, vol. 2, Hamburg, 1873-75. However, he mentioned Kubary's name only on p. 62, referring to the fish *Symphorus spirulus* Günther, plate 67.

Kubary collected a lot of molluscs and sea-creatures on the reefs and lagoons of the Palaus. Some of them were named after him like the nudibranch *Nembrotha kubaryana* Bergh, found by Kubary on the Ngaderrak Reef in March, 1873, or a sea-cucumber *Holothuria kubaryi* Ludwig. He sent a particularly rich collection of snails, corals and starfishes, e.g. *Choriaster granulatus* Ltk., to Hamburg. The size of his entomological collection gathered on the Palaus is not known, but a local stick insect has been named *Phybalosoma kubaryi*. Probably, it was only by chance that Kubary caught a crow indigenous to Guam in the Palaus. It was later named *Corvus kubaryi* (A. Reichenow, *Journal für Ornithologie*, 1885, p. 110; R. Meinertzhagen, "Introduction to a Review of the Genus *Corvus*", *Novitates Zoologicae*, vol. 33, 1926, pp. 61, 63-65, 68, 73, pl. III).

While on the Palaus he gathered a few plants and helped to add at least thirteen native names to the local botanical index.

Dr. Arthur Wichmann in his article "Zur geologischen Kenntniss der Palau-Inseln" (*Journ. Mus. Godeffroy*, No. 8, 1875) stated that Kubary sent an "interesting and valuable" collection of stones and rocks from the Palau Islands for the Godeffroy Museum. This collection was handed to him for examination and checking. A survey of this material and Kubary's notes resulted in an important study, and using Wichmann's own words, a "not so small" contribution to geological knowledge, not only of the Palau Islands, but also of the conditions of many other groups of islands in the Pacific Ocean.

In April 1872, Kubary climbed the highest mountain on Babelthuap, about 2,000 feet above sea level. He produced a very accurate map of the Palau, which was published in Hamburg, in 1873, by L. Friederichsen. It served as a standard map for the next thirty years at least. He also prepared a paper of 57 printed pages, under the heading "Die Palau-Inseln in der Südsee", published in the *Journal des Museum Godeffroy*, 1873. In it he gave his impressions of life in the Palau Islands in 1871-72, together with a physical description of the area, customs and religion of the islanders.

The Island of Ponape

In May, 1873, Kubary sailed on board the *Iserbrook* and visited the islands of Ngulu, Ulithi, Woleai, Nukuoro and Mortlock. He landed at Ponape in August, 1873.

He intended to stay on this island for several months, as indicated in a letter to his mother, dated 23rd October, 1873: "Mr. Godeffroy writes that he wishes me to continue to travel for him, until 1879. He will pay me 1,000 thalers annually and a final gratuity of 2,000 thalers. I virtually agree with his plan, but I feel the need to see you and to breathe freely again in order to have the strength for the plunge into the abyss of the South Seas. Consequently, I have the intention to start my return journey at the end of this year and hope that, by the middle of 1874, I will be able to kiss your little hands, if the Almighty will permit".

However, his stay on Ponape was prolonged to a full year. Perhaps he was attracted by an interesting exploration of the mysterious ruins which are situated on the Island of Nanmatal, off the eastern coast of Ponape. The

ruins consist of a very impressive complex stretching for almost nineteen miles. The walls have an average thickness of 9 feet and a height sometimes reaching 30 feet, these are constructed from rough blocks of basalt. Some of the buildings have square foundations measuring from 55 to 100 feet, while the largest are from 27 by 125 feet to 51 by 420 feet. Later many scientists such as Ernest Sarfert, F. W. Christian, Willard Price, MacMillan Brown, Edwin H. Bryan, K. P. Emory and Paul Hambruch discussed who had constructed them, by what technical means it was possible to erect such mighty walls, and which civilization had created them, all without any satisfactory answers.

To Kubary must go the credit for the first systematic exploration and description of the ruins. He also provided a plan of the basalt 'city', which was published in the Godeffroy Museum *Journal*. As Florence M. Spoer remarked in her book (p. 93) "It was no easy task to slash through the jungle in the territory of a suspicious and superstitious people". During his investigations he also found some crypts, which he named 'The Royal Tombs'. Besides skulls and human bones, he collected many ornaments and implements from them. Kubary published the results of this exploration in the *Jnl. Mus. Godeffroy*, under the heading "Die Ruinen von Nanmatal auf der Insel Ponape", and also in French "Les Ruines de Nanmatal dans l'île de Ponapé (Ascension)", *La Nature*, (Paris) 23.9.1876.

In passing, it is interesting to note that the first information on these ruins was published in Australia by Dr. John Lhotsky in the *New South Wales Literary Political and Commercial Advertiser* (Sydney), Feb. 1835, in the *Sydney Gazette*, March 26, 1835, and also in the *Hobart Town Courier*. However, Lhotsky did not visit Ponape, but collected his information from a seaman.

In 1873, Kubary published his first article in Polish about his impressions of Samoa, in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (The Illustrated Weekly, Warsaw).

The Shipwreck

On 30th August, 1874, Kubary left Ponape aboard the iron brig *Alfred*, taking with him a hundred crates containing the results of five years of collecting. Unfortunately, on 19th September, the ship was wrecked during a storm on a reef off the island of Jaluit in the Marshall Group, and only a small part of the collection was saved, despite Kubary's risking his life in the salvage operation. The loss was irrecoverable, for not only the treasures of 'The Royal Tombs' went to the bottom of the sea, but also 200 stuffed birds, only twenty-two of which were recovered, among them being five subspecies which had been discovered by Kubary and never previously described. Dr. Otto Finsch named them in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, 1875, pp. 642-44, in the paper "Characters of six new Polynesian Birds in the Museum Godeffroy". The five birds discovered by Kubary on Ponape were: *Zosterops ponapensis* (now listed as *Zosterops cinerea ponapensis*); *Volvocivora inseparata* (the modern name is *Edolisoma tenuirostre inseparatum*, known as the Cicada-bird); *Myiagra pluto* (the name now in use is *Myiagra oceanica pluto* or the Micronesian Broadbill); *Rhipidura kubaryi* (now listed as *Rhipidura rufifrons kubaryi*, or Rufous Fantail) and *Aplonis pelzelni* (Ponape Mountain Starling). Another bird from this area was named *Philegoenas kubaryi* (the modern name is *Gallicolumba xanthonura kubaryi*, or White-throated Ground Dove). We will never know how many new species were lost during the shipwreck and perhaps subsequently credit for discovery will be attributed to some other collectors.

Among the salvaged crates were collections of snails and insects in spirits. It is worth stressing that the lost items included some from the Solomon Islands and New Britain. Evidently Kubary during this period, also paid a short visit to Melanesia, which was never recorded by his early biographers.

After the shipwreck, Kubary remained for several weeks on Jaluit hurriedly collecting what he could to make up the loss. Eventually he made his way to Samoa, where he filled 23 crates, which he despatched to Europe. According to K. Wypych (See bibliography, 1968, p. 77) part of this collection has been preserved up to the present time in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig.

Kubary in New Zealand

In December, 1874, he boarded the schooner *Kenilworth*, which traded between Upolu, Savaii and other islands. The *Kenilworth* sailed from Savaii on 2nd January, 1875, and called a Tonga, where it took on a cargo of maize. The schooner weighed anchor on 6th January, and after experiencing light winds and calm periods throughout the trip, reached Auckland on the morning of 23rd January. Kubary disembarked and stayed in New Zealand for nine days while waiting for a ship to Australia. He busied himself making excursions and took an interest in the Maoris. Mr. Slabczyński has stated in his book (see bibliography), that Kubary met the chiefs Te Kooti and Titokawaru and was presented with a specimen of the kiwi. He also visited the Museum at Wellington, Lake Rotomahana and Mt. Tarawera.

The R.M. Steamer *Mikado*, which he was awaiting, arrived in Auckland from San Francisco and Honolulu at midnight on 30th January, 1875. She had to onload only a box of gold for Australia. Kubary embarked the next day as a saloon passenger and the *Mikado* sailed for Sydney at daybreak on 1st February.

Kubary in Australia

On 6th February, 1875, Kubary arrived in Sydney on the *Mikado* and applied for naturalization, which he received six days later. On the Certificate of Naturalization he is described as: "John Stanislaw Kubary, a native of Poland, 28 years of age, a Naturalist, residing in the city of Sydney". Although he had a German born mother and had himself worked practically all his life for the Germans, he still preferred to be naturalized in Australia and he was proud of the fact.

Little is known how Kubary spent those days in Sydney. There is no doubt that he visited the Australian Museum. According to W. Slabczyński, Kubary made a short excursion to the Blue Mountains. We also know that Kubary was interested in the Australian Aborigines and took some photographs of them.

After ten days in Australia he sailed for London on the *Parramatta* leaving on 16th February.

Among the Naturalists of Europe

He arrived in Hamburg on 31st May, 1875, and, in spite of the loss of his collection, he was very well received by his employer and the curators of the Godeffroy Museum. He also had a joyful reunion with his mother and sister Julia. According to the Polish historian Janusz Iwazzkiewicz, J. C. Godeffroy and the Russian consul in Hamburg, Count Cassini, pleaded with the Governor-General of Warsaw, and Kubary was granted a permit to visit his native city.

W. Slabczyński has said, that after enjoying a stay in his family home Kubary directed his first steps to the Zoological Museum, which was attached to the University of Warsaw, established in 1816. There he met Ladislaus (Wladyslaw) Taczanowski, the famous Polish ornithologist and author of the monumental monographs *Ornithologie du Pérou*, *Faune Ornithologique de la Sibérie Orientale* and many other works. Taczanowski was not only curator

of the Museum but also an inspiring *spiritus movens* among the Polish naturalists. As Poland had been wiped off the political map of Europe, he urged all Polish scientists to make an effort to maintain a name for Polish learning throughout the world. In the evenings, his office attracted all the Warsaw and visiting zoologists of both the younger and old generations. The atmosphere of the meetings was exciting as the foundations of modern Natural History had already been laid down and there was a race to complete the building. Kubary met professor August Wrześniowski, Dr. Jan Schnabel, an entomologist, with whom he later corresponded, a young ornithologist Jan Stolzmann and many others there. It is said that Taczanowski advised Kubary to go back to the South Seas.

The Second Congress of Polish Physicians and Naturalists

At this time Kubary received an invitation to attend the Second Congress of Polish Physicians and Naturalists at Lvov. The Congress started on 19th July, and Kubary was elected as one of the four secretaries, representing Warsaw. At it he delivered a 'Report on Scientific Observations gained during Journeys in Australia (sic)', chiefly describing his stay and work on Samoa. He exhibited stuffed specimens of the *Pareudiastes pacificus* from Savaii and *Didunculus stringirostris* from Upolu. Later he lectured about his observations while on the Ebon Group, the exploration of the coral reefs and his language studies. He talked at length about the ornithology of Yap and the local ethnographical features. He subsequently described the Palaus and Ponape, as well as his shipwreck misadventure. At the end of the lecture he occupied himself with the classification of the languages of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. His address was warmly applauded by the Congress. After a lecture by Dr. Julian Ochorowicz 'On Old Peruvian Skulls' he took part in discussion on the artificial modifications of the shape of skulls among the natives of Samoa and Polynesia.

Kubary enjoyed the friendly atmosphere of the Congress and it in turn, welcomed Kubary's lectures, fresh, as they were, from a distant field of exploration. He returned to Warsaw for a few days, where he left the stuffed *Pareudiastes pacificus* with his mother. It later found its way to the Warsaw Zoological Museum. He also sold a few other birds, some of them to Count Konstany Branicki, the protector of the zoological collection at the Warsaw University.

Return to the South Seas

In Hamburg, Kubary signed a new contract with J. C. Godeffroy for five years. He bought a new camera and extensive equipment comprising one hundred crates of books, scientific instruments and many objects for barter with the natives.

On 25th August, 1875, he was visited by a young Polish ornithologist, Jan (John) Stolzmann, who was going to Peru to join another eminent Polish ornithologist, Konstany Jelski. Kubary invited Stolzmann to stay with him and during the next three days he helped his countryman to obtain the necessary equipment, gave him much advice and showed him the museums, Zoological Gardens, and the harbour of Hamburg. On 28th August he bade farewell to Stolzmann, who boarded a ship sailing for London.

In the middle of September, Kubary was appointed a corresponding member of the Hamburg Geographical Society. Shortly afterwards he sailed for Samoa.

He stopped at Ponape where, on the northern shore, he established a plantation and built a house as his permanent headquarters at a place called Mpomp. This residence is illustrated in P. Hambruch's book *Ponape* (Hamburg, 1932). According to his own statements he devoted the first few months to zoological investigations.

The Mortlock Islands

In February, 1877, Kubary set out for the islands of Nukuoro and Mortlock where he stayed till the end of May. He observed the local fauna and flora, also devoting much time to ethnographic and anthropological studies of the natives. On this subject he later published a paper of 76 pages entitled 'Die Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln (Karolinen, nördlicher Grosser Ozean)' in the *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft*, Hamburg, 1880. In the same periodical there were also published two maps: *Die Mortlock Inseln* after Lutke and J. Kubary, to the scale of 1:200,000, showing population statistics and some information on the depth of the sea and the flora of the islands; and *Karte zur Uebersicht des heimatlichen Gebiets der jetzigen Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln*, to the scale of 1:2,250,000, which also included population statistics.

The Islands of Truk

In 1878, Kubary set out for the islands of Truk, where he lived for about fourteen months, from May, 1878, until August, 1879. He investigated the avi-fauna of these islands and Dr. Otto Finsch in his article 'A List of the Birds of the Island of Ruk in the Central Carolines' (*Proc. Zool. Soc. of London*, 1880, pp. 574-577) stated: "During my stay on Ponapé it was my privilege to inspect a considerable series of birds collected by Mr. J. Kubary, who spent fourteen months in investigations and collections on this island of Truk. I have thought it useful to give a short notice of this collection—the more so as Mr. Kubary has kindly furnished me with a list of all the species observed or obtained by him; so that the following list will contain a full enumeration of the birds of Ruk. Of the total number of 29 species, only two are peculiar to the islands (*Drymophila rugensis* and *Myiagra oceanica*). The species marked in the subjoined list with an asterisk I did not inspect myself, but insert on the authority of Mr. J. Kubary". The birds indicated by an asterisk numbered fourteen items and the above quotation shows the esteem in which the famous ornithologist, Finsch, held Kubary. Kubary also sent a collection of birds from the Truk Islands to Professor Anton Reichenow in Berlin.

According to Hartert's List of Birds (*Catalogue of Birds of the British Museum*, London, 1893, p. 599) one of the local pigeons was named *Phlegoenas kubaryi*. The Japanese ornithologist Tokutaro Momiyama, in his book *Birds of Micronesia*, published in 1922 by the Ornithological Society of Japan, also used the name *Phlegoenas kubaryi* Finsch (p. 138, pl. IV), but Mr. Keith Hindwood has kindly pointed out to me, that the modern name for this White-throated Dove is now *Gallicolumba xanthonura kubaryi*.

Kubary investigated the marine life of the reefs, particularly sponges and cuttle-fish. In the field of botany he noted six or seven varieties of ferns and many more of the taro plant. Checking on geographical names, and also on their geological features, he made a cartographic survey of the islands' shores, while visiting islands of the group such as Tol, Param, Polle, Fefan, Iman and Eteu.

The Crash

In the last-named island he received the unexpected news that the firm of Godeffroy had released him from their contract, due to a financial crash of that house. Thus, he was left out in the midst of the Pacific without either the means for a livelihood, or money for a return to Europe. This situation forced him to abandon the Truk Islands. He sailed from island to island in a native canoe, displaying outstanding seamanship and correcting the local maps. A cyclone drove him to the Marshall Islands. From Jaluit he reached Ponape on a Spanish ship and started intensive work on his plantation, cultivating coffee, cocoa, lemons, pineapples, tobacco, coconuts and betel-nut

palms. It was there he married Miss Anna Yelliott, the daughter of an American missionary and a Micronesian woman.

In spite of all its troubles, the year 1880 was a very favourable one as regards his literary output and he wrote five large articles, which were published in Poland two years later. The subjects covered the Nukuoro Islands, his voyages in Micronesia, the money of the Palau Islands, and the navigation and commerce of the natives of the central Carolines and the Truk Islands. However, it seems he was also homesick during this period. In a letter to the editor of *Wedrowiec* (The Wanderer) in Warsaw he wrote on 14th November, 1881: "I cannot miss this opportunity . . . of ending the isolation from my native country, which has weighed heavily upon me for so long, even if only by regular receipt of several of our periodicals. As regards their selection, I must admit it is a difficult task after thirteen years of absence from Warsaw. Firstly I would like to have a periodical covering the everyday life of Warsaw, always dear to me, and secondly periodicals to acquaint me with the general intellectual life of our country . . .".

In the meantime, Kubary was visited by Dr. Otto Finsch, who was accompanied by a German writer, F. Hershheim. The travellers were particularly interested in the ruins of Nanmatal. Later, in his book *Südsee-Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1883), Hershheim described M̄ōm̄ō and sightseeing on the island and among the ruins under the guidance of Kubary.

The Anthropological Album

In 1881 L. Friedrichsen published *Südsee Typen: Anthropologisches Album des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg*. Florence M. Spoehr called it "one of Kubary's most interesting contributions".

The album consists of more than 400 mounted original photographs of which Kubary himself took the great majority. The notes in the album were also mainly based on Kubary's measurements, explanations and descriptions. In some cases even the pulse rate of the natives was noted by Kubary. His photographs included the natives of Samoa, Ponape, Yap, Truk, Mortlock or Lukunor (dated 1877), Kaniet and Pingalop Island.

The quality of his photographs was so good that some of them were published in the third volume of Kramer's *Palau* as late as 1926. As Kubary started his photographic work in 1869, in Samoa he was certainly one of the very first photographers of the South Seas and his dark-room in the 'Royal Tombs' at Ponape, perhaps the first photographic laboratory in the Pacific Islands.

A copy of this most interesting and rare album is held by the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

In Japan

Early in 1882, Kubary's plantation was destroyed by a hurricane, and, to make matters worse, the remaining coconut palms were attacked by a plague of beetles. In an attempt to improve his material position, he sailed for Japan and worked for a while for the Museum at Yokohama and later for the Tokyo Museum, but was soon dismissed. His stay in Japan lasted only about four months, between April and August, 1882.

The author of this paper made an inquiry in Tokyo in 1966, asking for information referring to Kubary's employment and dismissal, but received no reply. Thus, the only explanation of the brevity of his service in Japan is to be found in a letter of Ladislaus Taczanowski to Benedykt Dybowski, dated in Warsaw, 18.8.1882: "Kubary . . . set out for Japan. Thanks to the influence of the German consul he obtained a temporary position at the

Museum of Yokohama. The entire staff of this Museum absolutely did not want to admit any European, therefore it was necessary to use great pressure to obtain this position. He writes that he has excellent relations with everybody and is trying his best to be needed there and so stay permanently. But it is the great question whether or not he will succeed."

For some reason the Japanese ornithologist T. Momiyama in his *Birds of Micronesia* (1922, p. 1) honoured Kubary by using the generic name of *Kubaryum*, given to a species of White-eye (*oleogineum*) of the Island of Truk. This bird was formerly placed with the genus *Zosterops*, but is now placed with the genus *Rukia*, thus *Kubaryum* becomes a generic synonym of *Rukia*.

Frustrations and Hopes

Kubary returned to Ponape via Hong Kong. At Mpomp he received a letter from Dr. Schmeltz, who wrote that the Dutch museum at Leiden had the intention of engaging him as a collector. Kubary, filled with enthusiasm, did not wait for an agreement but borrowed money on account of his future earnings and set out for Palau, where he started to gather exhibits together. He also intended to go to Guam, but he again received an unexpected blow. In a second letter Schmeltz advised him that, in spite of his efforts and persuasions the director of the museum did not want to sign the contract. At this moment of disappointment the natives of Palau came to his aid. He was made an honorary chief and a splendid community house was offered to him as a gesture of gratitude for his past services during the epidemic of influenza. In spite of this difficult position he continued his explorations in the topography, geography and geology of the Islands. He made the very important discovery of a rich deposit of phosphate on the little island of Angaur, which is mined to the present day.

He also wrote with great energy. He sent an article on the funeral rites of the natives of the Palaus to Poland. He contributed a chapter entitled 'Die Religion des Palauer' for the book by Adolf Bastian *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*. Kubary also sent two articles to the Journal of the Berlin Museum: 'Die Totenbestattung auf den Palau-Inseln' and 'Die Verbrechen und des Strafverfahren auf den Palau-Inseln' (1885).

King Arraklye's Ambassador

On 8th July, 1883, a daughter, Izabella, was born to him. One month later the British ship H.M.S. *Espiègle*, Captain Cyprian Bridge, visited the Palaus. One of the members of scientific expedition on board, G. R. Le Hunte, described in these words the meetings with Kubary:

Thursday, 9th August, 1883.

"This evening we were most agreeably surprised by the arrival of Mr. Kubary, the Polish Naturalist, from Malegojok. He came as King Arraklye's fully accredited Ambassador to the Captain, to treat with him in any matter. He was a short, dark man, with black hair and beard, and uses a considerable amount of gesticulation. He is however a naturalized British subject in Australia, and prides himself greatly on being on of our Queen's subjects. He wore spectacles, the rims of which he had made himself of tortoise-shell; they were of prodigious size and gave him a very ludicrous appearance. The only other thing remarkable about him was the peak of his cap, which was a magnificent piece of tortoise-shell. I need not say we were very glad to welcome him as the only representative of science and higher civilization we have met in our cruise. He came down from the north in a canoe, and his crew were entertained on board by us, as they would probably have been decapitated had they gone ashore in Korrer. As, besides settling the matter of the 'wrecking fine,' we were anxious to try and effect a peace between the kings and stop this wretched internecine war, it was decided that we

should get Abba Thule to come with us to meet Arraklye on board the ship at Malegojok. So, after another day's investigation, &c., we all sailed together on Saturday morning.

Saturday, 11th August.

"We steamed along the coast inside the reefs, feeling our way amongst the multitudinous coral patches, until we found ourselves opposite a village a short distance to the south of Malegojok. Here we anchored, and Mr. Kubary went off to the shore to get his chiefs together, and, in the meantime, Ommanney and I went off together, as we generally do, to sound about the anchorage, and to find a passage out to the open sea. We found one, but it was not a good-enough-one to risk except in an emergency—so we shall have to go back the way we came; at any rate, for the best part of the way. By and bye Mr. Kubary reappeared with his northern chiefs in their large war canoes . . .

" . . . When the chiefs came up, we arranged that they should all come the next day to sign a treaty of peace with the south, and then they returned to their village. That evening, while we were smoking, Mr. Kubary gave us some of his experiences of the actions of white men in the Pacific. Some of them were too dreadful to believe, if one had not seen evidences of the same things oneself. He prefaced his account with 'Gentlemen, I ask you to listen to what I shall tell you; you will not believe it, but listen.' If his diaries are ever preserved, they will be found to contain some very curious information.

Sunday, 12th August.

" . . . While we were talking, Mr. Kubary appeared, and suggested we should walk across the side of the hill to Malegojok, a proposal which we gladly accepted—a walk being a rare luxury to us. Just where we were, there was a raised square sort of platform of stones overshadowed by some beautiful trees, evidently a sacred place; at each corner of the side of the square facing the sea stood a large black stone, and Mr. Kubary told us that the people always gave offerings of leaves picked from these trees to the god of the stone, who holds the fates of voyagers or fishers from this place in his hands . . .

" . . . We then came to a house where Abba Thule and Arraklye were staying with their men, and we met a whole body of men, girls, boys, &c., carrying a feast of many dishes . . .

" . . . Next we came to an old club-house, with its attendant shrine close by, which was a great stone, the 'seat' of the god, the shrine being his 'basket' (very Fijian). In the big house there was nothing but Mr. Kubary's photographic apparatus, with which he had been doing some work down here . . .

" . . . The open country was singularly pretty, the bright grassy slopes of the hills being studded with clumps of feathery bamboo and clusters of dark-foliaged trees. The summit of the hill had exactly the appearance of one of those old Roman or Danish fortifications which Archaeological Societies are so fond of making an excuse for champagne luncheons. Indeed, both the Captain and I were certain that it must have been an old fortress; but Mr. Kubary explained that it was entirely due to the formation of the underlying rock ('tufa formation' he called it), and the action of the water flowing beneath the soil, which is gradually formed into the ramparts and sloping terraces which conveyed so strongly to our ignorant eyes the idea of fortification. Turning the shoulder of the hill, we have the beautiful view of the shore stretching both north and south of us, and re-enter the forest—its edge is the boundary line of Malegojok. Mr. Kubary here drew our attention to a basket hanging from a branch of a tree; this contained two human heads! recent victims. He expressed so much anxiety lest the Captain want them (!)

that we neither of us had much doubt in our minds as to what their ultimate destination would be, and if in future years either of us ever visit the University of Leyden, we may come across them again. It appears that when the head of an enemy is brought in, various ceremonies are performed over it, and when every one is tired of it, it is thrown out at the boundary stones, for the birds of the air and other common kind, as a mark of the utmost contempt; and Mr. Kubary having waited his chance, had no doubt picked them up, and strung them up, until they could be placed amongst other objects of interest in his own house. We declined to disappoint him, and to his great relief did not ask for them, and went on our way towards the village . . .

"We descended to the site of the village. Alas, what blackened ruins met our eyes! Not a house had been left, and, worse than all, the oldest and finest club-houses in the island had been blown up. Letting alone their intrinsic value, which was considerable, the loss is otherwise irreparable. It made us feel so sad, because it was so unnecessary. If one of the Captains from the Australian station had been employed, it would never have been done; but what do the China ships care for our islanders or the associations connected with these places? . . .

. . . we came to a fresh running stream, where is Mr. Kubary's bathing-place. Just beyond this, at the point, was his house, a native one with three rooms, the centre one being his studio. We were introduced to his wife, such a nice pretty little woman. She was a quadron, and was born in Ponape, where he had resided some years ago. We were shown a little tiny baby a few weeks old, which, or perhaps I should say 'whom', Mr. Kubary was very anxious to have registered as a British subject. He showed us some of his collection of birds, beasts, photographs, &c., and presented each of us with a chief's lime stick for betel chewing . . . I noticed certain bundles and baskets hanging to the roof, which I expected contained the remains of departed Pelewites for future exhibition in Europe. Amongst the men who were waiting in the 'anteroom' was a devil-priest, to tell us whether we should have a fair wind or not; but he was quite up to the trap, and replied with a polite bow that a Captain of a fireship could go where he pleased without reference to the direction of the wind. So he 'scored one'. Mr. Kubary spoke very feelingly about his relations with these people, and I feel sure that had he not been away in Japan as the China man-of-war came, he would have saved all the trouble . . .

". . . When we got on board we found the chiefs assembled, and the Captain explained to them his wish to effect a treaty of peace between them, and to save them from the fatal results of their quarrels. He impressed on them especially the fact of our having made peace between the chiefs of two other places, and this seemed to have decided weight with them. He urged them very strongly to give up the practice of decapitating their captives, and they promised they would do so. Then I drew up a short treaty which Mr. Kubary and Mr. Gibbons (the West Indian who had come with us from Korrer) translated into Palao language, and which Abba Thule and Arraklye signed as two superior chiefs of the group . . .

". . . The matter of the payment of the wreck-compensation was also settled, the Captain taking account of the great loss which the people had sustained by the destruction of their villages and club-houses, and, finding on a careful investigation that the original claim of the owner of the vessel was excessive, reduced the amount still outstanding, and ordered the native money to be returned as soon as a certain amount more had been paid in native produce, copra, pearl-shell, &c. The poor people were greatly cheered by this decision, and I have no doubt, with Mr. Kubary to advise and help them, they will not be long freeing themselves from this burden. Then we sent them away in their canoes, and after a really touching farewell to Mr. Kubary, whose great spectacles seemed to get strongly dimmed as we exchanged a long steady grip, we steamed away; and soon, beautiful Palao, with

the strange community of chiefs, warriors, diplomatists, priests of Odin, and *savants* of Europe, its ancient customs and new-formed trials, faded out of sight, but the impression left on our minds will never be effaced. I think both my skipper and I would give a good deal to see the place once more." Quotations from *Six Letters from the Western Pacific* by G. R. Le Hunte, Colombo, 1884.

The afore-mentioned 'wreck-compensation' referred to the destruction of Malegojok and other villages by a punitive expedition of the Royal Navy ships from the China station. Kubary always praised Admiral Cyprian Bridge as the first naval officer, who really endeavoured to correct the cruel mistakes of his predecessors in this area.

Shortly after the departure of H.M.S. *Espiègle*, Kubary sailed with the natives for Yap. There he explored some mysterious ruins, different from the 'basalt city' of Nanmatal, but which are also a product of high civilization.

Under O'Keefe's Sails

On 13th January, 1884, Kubary boarded the brig *Swan*, owned by the well-known Pacific trader, D. O'Keefe. Three days later the *Swan* called at the Island of Sonsorol. In spite of a very short stay on the island Kubary made many interesting observations, concerning the health, language, building construction and customs of the natives. According to Dr. Annelise Eilers, the author of the monograph *Westkarolinen* (Hamburg, 1935) his description of Sonsorol was the first since Captain Carteret visited the island in 1767.

O'Keefe's brig also called at Merir and on 21st January, dropped anchor off Mapia. Kubary stayed there for several days. During this short trip he collected many objects of ethnographical interest, corrected the maps of Sonsorol, Merir and Mapia, and compiled small vocabularies of the islands of Sonsorol and Mapia. On the latter island he also gathered some botanical specimens (See *Flora Malesiana: Cyclopedia of Botanical Exploration in Malaysia*, Ed. Dr. C. G. Van Steenis, Djakarta, 1950, vol. 1, pp. XCIX, 302).

On the 4th February, 1884, the *Swan* returned to Yap and once again Kubary sailed for the Palaus. Arthur Wichmann pointed out in his *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea* (p. 330), that Kubary made a mistake when, in the *Ethnographische Beiträge*, he gave the year of this voyage as 1885. This error has confused several biographers, but Wichmann has referred to a document signed by Kubary on Mapia Island and later 24th January, 1884.

In the meantime Kubary forwarded life masks of the natives, which he had cast in plaster of Paris, to the Australian Museum in Sydney.

Happy Months and Bitter Disappointment

In June, 1884, he completed the first part of his most important monograph, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karolinen Archipels* (Ethnographical Contributions to the Knowledge of the Caroline Archipelago), and again sailed for Yap. About this time he received most welcome news from Dr. Schmeltz, to the effect that the Ethnographical Museum in Berlin had engaged him as a collector. His financial troubles eased, at least temporarily, and he worked at collecting and wrote with great zeal.

In February, 1885, he completed the second part of his *Ethnographische Beiträge* . . . In the middle of March he set out for Hong Kong in order to despatch an extensive collection to the Museum für Vöölkerkunde in Berlin. It comprised 277 objects from Yap, 58 from Sonsorol, 8 from Mapia, 26 from Merir and 56 without indication of locality. Kubary returned to Yap in May and worked with enthusiasm until the beginning of September, when he received notice of termination of the contract, being accused of 'fraternization

with the natives and extravagance in relation to them'. Once again he was left without a means of livelihood.

In New Britain

Incidentally, on 12th September, 1885, the German warship *Albatros* dropped anchor off the Yap Islands and its Captain, Max Pluddemann, persuaded Kubary to accept a post as interpreter. Thus, Kubary and his family sailed from Yap three days later on board the *Albatros*. The task of the warship was to raise the German flag on the following islands: Errai, Mogeloyok, Woleai, Truk (Sept. 30), Ponape (Oct. 11), Pingelap (Oct. 16) and Kusaie (Oct. 18).

The *Albatros* then steamed to New Britain, and Kubary landed at Matupi in the present Harbour of Rabaul. He took charge of a plantation, Kurakakaul, situated on Matupi and belonging to the German consul, Eduard Hensheim.

Kubary again became busy making excursions, this time to the Gazelle Peninsula, climbing volcanoes and collecting plants and birds (See *Flora Malesiana* and *Novitates Zoologicae*, vol. 8, pp. 82, 104, 130, 138; vol. 10, pp. 114, 210; vol. 14, p. 443; vol. 31, p. 195; vol. 32, p. 129; vol. 33, p. 129).

He also worked on his monograph *Ethnographische Beiträge* and other writings. Probably, during this period he prepared the Chapter 'Das Tatowiren in Mikronesien' for the book by Wilhelm Joest *Tätowiren* (Tattooing). In the foreword to this work Joest stated that Kubary was "undoubtedly the leading expert in the islands of Micronesia and a celebrated and well-known investigator of nature" (p. VIII).

In the Service of the New Guinea Company

After one and a half years in New Britain, Kubary signed on agreement with the New Guinea Company as the manager of the trading station and plantations at Constantinhafen in Astrolabe Bay. Already in April, 1887, he had undertaken some exploration in this area with the missionary J. W. Thomas, but his official appointment was dated 8th July, 1887. The German writer Hugo Zöllner said that here he led "a happy life with his wife, and daughter Bella".

In a letter dated 7th July, 1957, the late Senior Sister Hombeline, Kubary's daughter, described this period to the author of this paper in the following words: "I was seven years old if not younger when we went to New Guinea. We were in German New Guinea, we went to British New Guinea then back again . . . Father was always so busy and most of his time was spent in his office writing. He sent lots of things to Europe. Mother used to pack big cases. We had big plantations and hundreds of labourers to work there but they were natives brought from other islands. They had to be trained as they were savages. They had to line up near our house and go through some drill every morning before going to their work. Father was severe with them but just. They liked him and would have done anything for him. Father spoke many languages, Polish, German, English etc., and some native languages out here. He often spoke of going to Europe. His mother and sister were the only close relatives still living. They were in Poland. This Dr. von Lukowicz you speak of I remember father mentioning his name many times but I cannot remember in what language they spoke. I do not remember the dates of my brother's birth nor death. He was about a year older than me and he died in Ponape. Mother remained in Ponape for the rest of her life after father's death. She died at the age of 72 but how she spent her life I do not know. As a child I was very happy with my parents. Father tried to please everybody. At Christmas he would dress up as Father Christmas and amuse everyone. Father and mother understood each other so all was pleasant".

It seems that he started his work in the New Guinea Company with his usual zeal and energy. In the *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land* [Quarterly news], vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 60-64, there is a description by Kubary of his excursion in a boat to Maraga (Gorima) Hook, Gogol River Plains, Gum River and Bili Bili Island in Astrolabe Bay, which he undertook between 8th and 10th November, 1887. The main purpose of this trip was to gain knowledge of the little explored shores of Astrolabe Bay. In this article, which perhaps was the last one of his scientific writings, Kubary made his usual interesting remarks on the topography, vegetation and geology, as well as a description of the natives and their languages. After exploring the mouth of the Gogol River he returned to Constantinhafen visiting Bili Bili Island en route. According to many sources he was everywhere loved and venerated by the native peoples of the Western Pacific and New Guinea. For example, in the *Collected Writings* by the well-known Russian explorer, anthropologist and ethnologist, Nicolas Miklouho Maclay (vol. 2, p. 749, Moscow, 1950), there is mention of an old tale among the natives of Bili Bili Island ending with the words: "And so said Maclay, and also Kubary".

At the end of January, 1888, he again went to New Britain and in the northern part of the Gazelle Peninsula hired seventy-one labourers for the Company. On 6th February, he arrived in Finschhafen on board the *Isabel* and landed thirty-five men, taking the rest with him to Astrolabe Bay. His plantation in Constantinhafen was considered to be the best managed in the New Guinea Company.

The Kaniet (or Anachorites) Islands

On 13th November, 1880, on Ponape, Kubary completed a small monograph in the Polish language entitled 'A Contribution to the study of the Anachorites Islands'. This manuscript found its way to the collection of the Polish Ethnological Society, established in 1895, and was published as late as 1962, in the organ of the said Society, *Lud* (The People), vol. 47, pp. 7-42.

This group of six small islands is situated north of the Niño Group and north-west from Manus Island. Although the monograph deals mainly with their ethnography, anthropology and language, it also contains his remarks on zoology and ornithology. Kubary stated that he gained a good knowledge of these subjects only because he had seven servants, natives of these islands, who served him during ten years in his voyages. He learned their language and extracted all necessary information.

However, in his book *Dreißig Jahre in der Südsee* [Thirty Years in the South Seas], Stuttgart, 1907, p. 435, Richard Parkinson, who knew Kubary personally, stated, that "Kubary visited these islands over a period of many years . . . (Kubary, der diese Inseln vor Jahren besuchte . . .)". Therefore it is certain that Kubary, after writing the fore-mentioned monograph, sailed for the Kaniet Islands during his stay in New Britain, and service with the New Guinea Company.

Collecting in New Guinea

Kubary devoted his spare time to collecting ethnographical material and natural history specimens, resulting in a valuable collection of butterflies, shells and stuffed birds.

His main ethnographical collection is now in the State Ethnographical Museum of Leiden (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde). He sent it a very extensive collection of spears, bows, arrows and other weapons of the natives of Astrolabe Bay. These collections were described by Dr. J. D. E. Schmeltz in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vol. VIII, Leiden, 1895, in the paper 'Beiträge zur Ethnographie von Neu-Guinea', Chapters IV and V, 'Ueber Bogen von Neu-Guinea' (pp. 238-44, pl. XVI) and vol. IX, 1896, Chapter

VI, 'Ueber eine Sammlung aus Konstantinshafen, Astrolabebai' (pp. 113-125, pls VII-IX). Schmeltz stated there that "Mr. J. S. Kubary, an untiring and active traveller, to whom the exploration of Oceania owes so much, did not spend the opportunities of his prolonged stay in Kaiser Wilhelms-Land unprofitably. He not only enhanced his zoological collections and knowledge of nature in those areas, but also contributed in many ways to his ethnographical collection . . ." (vol. VII, p. 241). However, in contrast to this opinion Dr. Schmeltz complained in vol. IX, p. 113, that Kubary's notes were not in a satisfactory order; evidently he had no more enthusiasm and energy for scientific work under the stress of a very oppressive climate, his official duties and acute attacks of malaria and dysentery. Every year the latter disease decimated the sparse European population of German New Guinea, so that, by 1895, twenty-five Europeans lay buried in Stephansort cemetery alone, not counting other settlements.

According to information supplied by Dr. P. H. Pott, Director of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde at Leiden (letters to the author of 4th and 19th July, 1968), the New Guinea collection of Kubary consists of 137 objects. The most important item in this collection is the wooden ancestor figure 'Telem Mul' from Bongu, mentioned in the previously quoted vol. VIII, p. 244, pl. XVI.

The Ornithological Collections

W. Slabczyński noted in his book, when referring to the letter by Izabella Kubary of 12th August, 1954, that "Kubary had in his house a true ornithological and entomological museum full of birds of paradise, butterflies and other specimens of natural history". His "huge collections" were bought by German naturalists of Dresden: the birds by Count Hans von Berlepsch and the butterflies by Dr. Staudinger. The latter collection is still preserved in the Staatliches Museum für Tierkunde in Dresden. A part of the birds held by Count von Berlepsch was sold, or exchanged with the Tring Museum, near London, owned by Lord Rothschild. The author of this paper found not less than sixty references to the birds from New Guinea and New Britain, collected by Kubary, which were in the Tring Museum. The majority of these birds were listed in the "Notes on Papuan Birds" by W. Rothschild and E. Hartert, *Novitates Zoologicae* (London), vols. 3 (1896), 8 (1901), 10 (1903), 14 (1907) and vol. 22 (1915). After Rothschild's death his collection of birds was sold to the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

Dr. Adolf Meyer in the *Ibis*, 1890, p. 414, named a Kingfisher *Sauromarptis kubaryi* but the name is now a synonym of *Sauromarptis gaudichaud gaudichaud* or Gaudichaud's Kingfisher of New Guinea. Tom Iredale in his *Birds of New Guinea*, vol. 1, p. 198, made this comment on the subject: "It ranges throughout New Guinea and shows little local variation so that although specimens have been separated from the Aru Islands (*aruensis*), and also those from the north coast have been named *kubaryi*, no tangible characters have been determined, the seasonal variation in the depth of colouring and the white head markings obscuring the facts".

"A First Class Expert on the Flora of New Guinea"

Wilhelm Wendland, in his book *Im Wunderland der Papuas*, Berlin, 1939, p. 28, said that, beside his anthropological interests, Kubary was in the first instance a first rate expert on the flora of New Guinea. According to the *Flora Malesiana: Cyclopaedia of Botanical Exploration in Malaysia* his botanical collections were in the Hamburg Herbarium and part of his New Guinea plants might have been sent to the Herbarium of Berlin and were classified by Dr. Karl Schumann. Strangely enough in *Die Flora der Deutschen Schutzgebiete in der Südsee* by Dr. K. Schumann and Dr. K. Lauterbach, Leipzig, 1901, Kubary's name is mentioned only once, on p. 283, under *Ficus du*. As the

Berlin Herbarium was burnt out by incendiary bombs in 1943, Kubary's collections were apparently lost.

When in October, 1890, Lauterbach arrived in Constantinhafen in order to explore the vicinity of the Gogol River he profited greatly from Kubary's information and advice relating to the local topography, natural history and linguistics. Kubary, in a "most friendly" way, helped Dr. Lauterbach to organize the expedition and gave him a large sailing boat. After six weeks, on 7th December, Kubary sent his assistant to the Gogol River with a boat containing supplies. While there, Lauterbach collected a very large number of botanical and zoological specimens, particularly insects.

W. Slabczyński in his latest article on Kubary "A New Contribution to the Biography of Jan Stanislaw Kubary", 1968, mentioned that he also assisted the Hungarian ethnographer Samuel Fenichel. Dr. E. F. Kunz in his book *Blood and Gold: Hungarians in Australia* (Melbourne, 1969, pp. 148-149), wrote that "In December 1891, Samuel Fenichel, the first of a line of Hungarian scientists interested in New Guinea, arrived there with Grubauer's German expedition. While the expedition progressed in New Guinea, misunderstandings and ill-feeling developed, and Fenichel left Grubauer's company. Staying behind, Fenichel spent nonetheless fourteen fruitful months alone, mainly in the Finisterre region of German New Guinea, investigating anthropology and zoology of the area, and sending valuable collections of birds and ethnographic objects to the Hungarian National Museum. He died at Wilhelmshafen on 12 March 1893". Slabczyński also noted that Kubary met a Hungarian zoologist, Lajos Biró, there. Dr. Kunz informed me that Biró arrived in New Guinea at the end of 1895, therefore his contact with Kubary must have been very brief.

The Malacological Studies

The previously mentioned author Dr. W. Wendland remarked that later Kubary fell back on studies of crustacea.

The well-known malacologist Dr. O. F. von Möllendorf published an article "On a Collection of Land-Shells made by Mr. J. Kubary in German New Guinea" in the *Proceedings of the Malacological Society*, London, 1895, vol. 1, pp. 234-238. In this article we read: "The material for the present memoir was furnished by Mr. J. Kubary, well known for his ethnological and zoological researches in the Caroline and other islands of the Pacific region. Most of the shells were collected in the neighbourhood of the German colonial station of Constantinhafen, situated in Astrolabe Bay, Kaiser Wilhelms-Land; some came from the hills at the foot of the Finisterre Mountains. Small as the collection is, it contains some interesting novelties, and confirms entirely Mr. Hedley's view that the molluscan fauna of New Guinea is essentially Malayan. To this theory I consider the discovery of a true *Cyclophorus* lends very important support". Thus, Mollendorf named this new shell *Cyclophorus kubaryi* and another two: *Papuina kubaryi* and *Helix kubaryi*.

C. F. Ancey referred to these shells in the article "On some New or Hitherto Little Known Shells from New Guinea and Adjacent Islands" in the *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales*, vol. X, Sydney, 1896, pp. 377-378, 380-381, pl. XXVI.

Mount Kubary

During an expedition into the Finisterre Mountains, in October, 1888, the German geographers named Kubary-Berg, describing it as about 780 metres high. On the Australian maps the name became misspelt as Mt. Kubari, but the height is now given as 6120 feet (Australian Geographical Series: *Lae*, SB-55, 1965). The position of Mt. Kubary seems to be the same on the

German and Australian maps, but the difference in height seems to be strangely out of proportion: nearly three times as much.

The Last Voyages

In New Guinea, Kubary found a friend in the person of Dr. Max Lukowicz, Chief Medical Officer of the New Guinea Company, who was a Pole by origin, a native of Chojnice near Danzig. Dr. Lukowicz cared for his health, but advised him to leave for Europe, or "choose a grave in New Guinea". After one year of service Dr. Lukowicz himself left the Company and settled in Australia.

In 1892, Kubary set out with his wife and daughter for Germany. In spite of a flattering reception and welcome at the Geographical Society in Hamburg and at the Berlin Museum, there was no employment for him. In Lvov, during the Sixth Congress of Polish Physicians and Naturalists, he delivered a lecture, but likewise in Poland no one offered him a position. He returned to New Guinea where he worked till the end of 1895. After the dissolution of the contract he had to sail to Ponape. He took his only daughter, Izabella, to Singapore and placed her in a school run by French Catholic nuns. Subsequently, he went to the Governor's office in Manila in an attempt to clear up his rights to the plantation at Ponape. In the Philippines he fell ill of heart trouble and spent several months in hospital. When he returned to his home in the middle of 1896, he found that his plantation had been completely devastated during a recent uprising of the natives against the Spaniards. A few months later, on 9th October, 1896, Kubary was found dead on the grave of his only son, Bertram.

The Opinions of Scientists

Kubary had led a strange life spending twenty-seven years of it in the South Seas. He left Europe as a twenty-two year old political refugee without any significant scientific training, but he had proved himself to be a man of great ability, intelligence and many talents, who was deeply devoted to the sciences. His contributions to human knowledge in the fields of natural history, ethnography, anthropology, cartography and linguistics were remarkable and praised by many scholars. Some opinions of J. D. E. Schmeltz, E. Gräffe, G. Hartlaub, O. Finsch, W. Muller, A. Krämer, A. Wichmann, A. Eilers, G. R. Le Hunte, W. Joest, have already been quoted. Similar, or even more outspoken praise was given by A. Bastian, L. Friedrichsen, R. André, J. Hastings and others.

Dr. August Krämer admitted that Kubary's works influenced him in his decision to visit Palau. Consequently, the first volume of his splendid monograph in five books, *Palau*, was dedicated to "Johann S. Kubary pioneer investigator of Palau".

Professor Ludwik Krzywicki of the Warsaw University, when writing an obituary of Kubary in 1897, said: "Perhaps this and that is known about him in our country, but I doubt whether we appreciated the full value of his explorations. This ethnographer had a renowned name in the scientific world, but not to the extent he deserved . . . Therefore Kubary, like Morgan or Howitt, Fison or Codrington, did not live to see the esteem which would one day surround their names in future. The studies of our countryman . . . are contributions to science which will remain for ever. We say quite definitely: 'for ever', fully conscious of the meaning of this expression . . . The future investigator will find there a description of conditions deserving confidence, and at the same time providing the key to understanding what is inaccurate, obscured, or misrepresented in the hundreds of volumes on Polynesia".

Famous Professor Bronislaw Malinowski, the author of the *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, who spent six years in Australia, New Guinea and

the Trobriand Islands, called Kubary "a concrete methodologist" (*A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, London, 1967, p. 155).

Kurt Schmack in his monograph of the House of Godeffroy stated that "Dr. Gräffe, Amalie Dietrich, Kleinschmidt and Hübner, they all conducted ethnographical studies; but the most valuable work in this field was accomplished by Kubary . . ."

Dr. Kurt Danneil, in his article on the St. Matthew Islands, said that while other explorers spent a lot of money achieving very meagre results, Wallace in the Malayan Archipelago and Kubary in the Carolines showed that praiseworthy work could be done in this field (*Internat. Arch. Ethnogr.*, vol. 13, p. 126).

Rollin H. Baker in *The Avifauna of Micronesia* (Kansas Univ., 1951, p. 18), remarked that Kubary was "perhaps the most famous collector" of his period.

The Epitaph

The last European who saw Kubary, barely two days before his death, was F. W. Christian, author of the book *The Caroline Islands* (London, 1899). He described this last meeting on pp. 227-228 of his book: "Kubary, hale and hearty as ever, had just returned from a long tramp over the hills collecting landshells, his latest hobby. The reader can guess how two enthusiasts sat far into the night in earnest discussion upon the mystery of the strange lands around them . . . In my mind's eye I see my bluff host sitting in his great cane chair, spectacles on nose, with his specimen-cases, instruments, books and pamphlets around him, peering keenly into the hieroglyphs of some huge German tome of science to wrest therefrom some happy illustration of his theme. And this was the last I saw of Kubary, ablest and sturdiest of . . . pioneers of science in Pacific waters".

Nothing seems to be more suitable for Kubary's epitaph than the last page from Christian's preface to his *Caroline Islands*:

"For many years in these remote lands he devoted a grand and tireless energy to clearing up problems which have troubled so many European scientists who, from an arm-chair in their studies at home, are sometimes inclined to settle offhand, with a few indifferent strokes of the pen, questions the weight of which they have only tested with a crooked finger. Only too often, those who have borne the burden on their shoulders are pushed aside into unthanked oblivion. Those can sympathise best who have endured the scorching heats of the Line, the inclement rain-torrents of the wet season, fever and bad food, thirst and sleeplessness, the opposition of superstitious natives abroad and the indifference of men at home, such measure as the world metes out to the man who ventures to seek out new facts or new methods of arranging facts. Such men as Kubary during their lives receive scant thanks, but their praise should be a grateful duty to all who honour pluck and enterprise. And though Kubary be no countryman of ours, Science knows no such narrow boundaries, such slender distinctions as race or birth-land, and bids us render honour to one of her most faithful servants whom the evil day found girt and harnessed to his task".

The Monument

In 1898, a Committee was formed in Berlin to provide a monument to Kubary. Among the forty-eight persons present there were many celebrities of the scientific world such as Professors Baessler, Bastian, Buschan, R. Koch, Krämer, Schmeltz, Thilenius, Virchow, Volkens and prominent persons like

J. C. Godeffroy, Captain Pluddeman, R. Parkinson, the brothers Hershheim and others. There were also from Warsaw Julia Swiatlowska, Kubary's sister and Boleslaw Mstusiński, a lawyer.

In a publication by the Committee, printed in Berlin in 1901, it was said:

"This honour was bestowed on Kubary as the ethnographer who penetrated with deep understanding into the mentality and customs of the native population and through this, rendered invaluable service to Science; and as the naturalist who collected and described numerous varieties of animal and plant life of the islands. This man who proved himself to be versatile and who gained honour in the cause of exploration of the South Seas, shall now have a monument erected to eternal memory, plain and simple as was Kubary himself".

The monument was erected at Ponape in the shape of a pyramid and formed from basalt blocks. On its top an impressive boulder was placed bearing a large bronze plaque on which a portrait of Kubary was sculptured and the following words: "Joh. Stanislaus Kubary, 13 Nov. 1846-9 Oct. 1896".

When, in 1906, Kubary's grave was opened it was found to be empty. W. Slabczyński has speculated that his body was secretly removed by the natives and placed in a sacred graveyard reserved for the great men of Ponape.

Acknowledgements

Sincere thanks for kind assistance and advice are extended to Mr. C. A. McCallum, former Chief Librarian of the State Library of Victoria, and the staff; the Mitchell Librarians, particularly Miss Phyllis Mander Jones and Miss Jean F. Arnot, Sydney; the Librarians of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand; Mr. W. Slabczyński and Miss Krystyna Lopuzynska of the National Library, Warsaw, Poland; Mr. J. Dabrowski of the National Library, Canberra; Mr. K. A. Hindwood of Sydney, for invaluable notes on ornithological problems; Miss Patricia Reynolds, La Trobe Librarian and her staff, Melbourne; Mr. Thomas A. Darragh, Curator of Fossils, Mr. Alan McEvey, Curator of Birds, and Miss Joyce M. Shaw, Librarian, of the National Museum of Victoria, Melbourne; Mr. I. C. J. Galbraith, British Museum (Natural History), Department of Zoology, London; Mr. J. H. Willis, Assistant Government Botanist of Victoria, Melbourne; Dr. P. H. Pott, Director of Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands; Dr. E. F. Kunz of the Australian National University, Canberra; Miss Nona D. Lucas of Box Hill, Vic., for kind help in preparation of the typescript.

I am also greatly indebted to the late Senior Sister Humbeline (Izabella Kubary) of Singapore, deceased in November, 1961, for her letters and information about her father.

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